



**ADDRESS BY
H.E. MR. SALAH ABU ZEID
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
OCTOBER 4th, 1972**



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Mr. President :

It is my privilege to join with all my colleagues in extending my heartiest congratulations on your election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly at its current 27th session. Your high qualities of statesmanship will be of great value in steering the work of this session to the successful conclusion which all member -states aspire to accomplish.

I should like to pay warm tribute to the distinguished Secretary General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, since his assumption of this key position has worked tirelessly in selfless dedication towards fulfilling the resolutions and recommendations of this august body.

Mr. President :

There are many people who believe that the United Nations is ineffectual in matters pertaining to the ultimate issues of human welfare. For his reason proposals are being suggested for an amendment to the charter.

But it is often overlooked that it is the member states who lay down and implement policies, and not an abstract body called the United Nations.

This must be stated clearly and forcefully if the United Nations is to live up to the challenge which animated its founders more than a quarter of a century ago.

They intended to ensure a supra-national structure dedicated to peace with justice, and to the unity of mankind. There must be something wrong, somewhere when the overwhelming will of this all - embracing body is flouted with impunity as is the case in the Middle East. Peace and justice are indivisible and the rule of law whether in national or international affairs is likewise indivisible. This is the essence of collective responsibility, as well as the spirit of the charter of the United Nations.

Mr. President,

If my words carry misgivings it is not my intention to sound a counsel of despair. Both under the United Nations and independently of it, there is emerging in the world community, a spirit of detente which my delegation whole-heartedly applauds. Many areas, which over the past quarter century have been hot beds of potential confrontation, have been turned into areas of accommodation or at least of peaceful co-existence.

My delegation expresses the hope that all states and all nations will join the trend towards abandonment of war as an instrument of policy.

T E R R O R I S M

One of the issues raised during the current session of the United Nations is the item on international terrorism. Jordan is opposed to violence whatever its source or methods. Jordan is ready to participate effectively in any international measures to protect innocent civilians against violence. At the same time Jordan, and I am sure all peoples of the world, support the right of an occupied people, every occupied people, to effectively resist occupation and colonialism.

Mr. President :

As I speak on behalf of Jordan and against a back-ground of the problems which my country has been compelled to endure, in consequence of the 1967 war, my remarks on the rôle of the United Nations in resolving conflicts assume a stark and deadly reality. And let me declare, in the strongest terms, that with only the tragic exception of Indo-China, the Middle East remains the only area outside the shade of justice, peace and security. In Jordan human beings like yourselves are daily faced with tribulations violating every principle, concept or ideal to which the United Nations addresses itself. My address

therefore to this distinguished gathering is far from being an academic excercise, and less still a sermon on the virtues of virtuous behaviour.

BASIC INGREDIENTS IN THE M. E. CRISIS

What are the basic ingredients in the situation which is commonly referred to as the Middle East crisis? I fully realize that the case has been stated and restated so often, year in and year out. And yet, it must be done if only because no progress whatsoever has been achieved towards its just and peaceful solution. On the contrary, the passage of years is compounding an already desperate situation into an intolerable one. The basic facts of the case, as of today, are as follows:

First, as a result of the 1967 war in the Middle East, nearly half of the citizens of Jordan have been for more than five years suffering the bondage and enslavement of Israeli occupation. A similar fate has befallen substantial territories of Egypt and Syria.

Occupation like slavery is a curse regardless of its nature or duration. It is doubly so when the victims are a whole population and when deliverance seems to be receding in an unknown abyss.

To us the issues at stake are fundamental. They are nothing less than a mortal threat to the very survival of Jordan as a state and as a people. Israel makes no pretences about its determination to swallow up at least substantial parts of Jordan which it already occupies. Peace, to the Israelis, seems no longer anything but an empty expression which is conveniently used in forums such as the United Nations, a use of language to conceal the aim.

Experience tells us that the people under Israeli occupation are not looked upon as a community of human beings with a birth right expectation of continuity in their homeland. Rather

they are looked upon as things or obstacles to be removed at the appropriate moment of Israel's choosing. Hence, the urgency of **collective world action** to bring about the speediest termination of occupation and the salvation of the multitudes in Israel's bondage.

Second, the traumatic consequences of 1948, which resulted in the physical dispersal of well over one million Palestinian refugees have been further increased by the repeat events of 1967. An additional half a million victims were added to the ranks of the uprooted. They are referred to as displaced persons to differentiate them from their compatriots, the 1948 refugees. But even this differentiation is becoming blurred as occupation continues unchecked. The United Nations resolutions pertaining to the immediate repatriation of the displaced population are being added to the stockpile of the United Nations resolutions, which Israel consistently ignores.

Third, the United Nations and its member states, have made every effort since 1967 to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the conflict. On 22nd. November 1967, the Security Council adopted resolution 242. Its points were clear, its intent specific. It reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories. It provided guarantees for a just and lasting peace.

Both Jordan and Egypt accepted the resolution and all the obligations revolving upon them under the terms of the resolution. Not only did they express their acceptance by every possible means and on every conceivable occasion but they also registered their unqualified acceptance in writing. This was done in the course of replying to specific questions by the most able and dedicated Ambassador Dr. Jarring in the spring of 1969.

The Israeli response to Dr. Jarring's earnest mission was not only negative but misleading and hostile. Israel continues to do so until this very day. The Israelis, in effect, have opted

for territorial expansion in preference to the long cherished goal of a just and lasting peace.

THE ISRAELI PROBLEM

Mr. President :

The United Nations and the world at large are fully justified in asking, Why is it that peace seems so remote and elusive in the Middle East ? What stands in the way of a solution to the problem which has kept the world on edge for almost twenty five years ?

We are convinced that there will be no solution to the Palestine problem until the problem of Israel is solved.

What is the Israeli problem ?

Simply stated here is a country created by this very body, the United Nations, when its membership was still a minority of mankind. From the date of its birth in the heart of Palestine over the protest of the Palestinian people themselves and their Arab neighbors and brethren, Israel has been the centre of never-ending conflict. Although a creation of the United Nations, Israel's outspoken defiance of this body and its resolutions has weakened the power of the United Nations to the point of impotency. Veterans of debates in this Assembly recall only too well the hope of peace that followed the truce of 1948. They recall only too well the subsequent resolution that guaranteed to Palestinians who had been driven from their homes the right to return to them or be compensated for their losses. Never did this body feel more sure of its wisdom or more confident of its power. Within months, peace would return to the Middle East.

But that was the day the power of the United Nations was challenged first. Then began to crumble. That was the day

that Israel first defied the United Nations. It refused to allow one uprooted Palestinian to return to his home, or to pay one penny for his loss. And for twenty five years, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have lived in exile.

Today of course except when the UNRWA budget is passed, we have forgotten all about them. Today our concern is with Israel's defiance of another resolution, the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 called upon Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories seized during the June War in return for a lasting peace, Israel has simply refused. Confident that her defiance would meet with no more than mild rebukes she continues to occupy Arab land, and challenges the United Nations, and the Arabs, to do anything about it.

THE ISRAELI QUESTION

So, I submit that we must bring before the General Assembly the Israeli question.

What is to become of Israel ? Is she to go on from conquest to conquest, fulfilling at last the Zionist dream of a land extending from the Nile to the Euphrates : despite her past successes, this hardly seems a realizable goal while all the world is watching. Yet in the mind of many a zionist zealot, this is the only way to ingather the twelve million Jews from all the world.

Or will Israel content itself to hold on firmly to the Arab lands she already has ; Sinai, The West Bank of Jordan including Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights ? Five years have passed since those lands were occupied, and nothing on the horizon indicates Israel's intention to do anything else but to continue to occupy them.

Obviously, either expansion or continuation of Israel's present course will lead to perpetual conflict. The first, I imagine, would bring others into the conflict. The second, a much more likely happening, would be the war for which both sides

seem regrettably to be preparing. There are on the Arab side just as many extremists as there are expansionists in Israel. If such a war were fought, it would be to the end. It will lead to the devastation of the whole area.

For the moment, Israel has rejected the right choice, the one offered in the 1967 resolution. It may well be that she will agree with the rest of the world, that in the 1967 resolution lies the one best hope for a political settlement. It came as no surprise at all that the Israeli Foreign Minister, in his misleading speech before the Assembly chose to ignore the resolution altogether in a calculated affront to those who adopted it.

Mr. President :

There are innumerable issues which can be intelligently explained only within the context of Israeli ideology and practices, the undisguised declarations of intent to permanently annex occupied territories of three member states under the flimsy pretext of security. Does security in the dwarfed spaces of the modern age depend on a hill - top here or a little town there ? Then the attacks against the adjacent Arab countries resulting in considerable losses in life and property mainly amongst innocent civilians. We might add the negative attitude of Israel towards every and all attempts to resolve the conflict in accordance with the Security Council's Resolution of 22nd. Nov. 1967, and the scores of other related resolutions. The flagrant violations of the Geneva conventions governing the rights of the civilian inhabitants under occupation. The wanton destruction of villages and towns, and last but not least, the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants from the territories which fell victim to occupation.

JERUSALEM

Mr. President :

No discussion of the crisis of the Middle East would be meaningful without emphasis, in the strongest terms, on the fate and future of Jerusalem, a city hallowed by hundreds of millions of believers - Muslims, Christians and Jews all over the world.

The Israelis' claims to an exclusive hold on this great historic city, and the systematic efforts since the occupation to transform its unique identity, are not only a violation of its sanctity, but also a deep wound inflicted upon the conscience of humanity.

It was in recognition of this fact that while the Security Council's Resolution of 22nd. November 1967 had provided for withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories, which includes the Jordanian Sector of Jerusalem, both the General Assembly and the Security Council felt impelled to adopt specific resolutions for its preservation.

The Israelis describe their annexation as unification, ignoring the fact that there can be no unification in bondage, where one community tramples upon the soul, the human dignity, the land and the accumulated culture of other communities.

As we declare our adherence to our rights in Jerusalem, let me emphasize, in the name of Jordan, and of all Peoples of Goodwill who believe in the unique sanctity of Jerusalem, that it will always remain the key to a just and lasting solution in the Middle East.

THE UNITED ARAB KINGDOM

Mr. President :

One of the most crucial developments which stemmed from the June War of 1967 had been an awareness throughout the world, of the magnitude of the injustice which has befallen the People of Palestine. The People of Jordan and Palestine are one and the same people. The people on both banks of the kingdom have shared a common national life over the past quarter century. The aspiration of the Palestinian people to restore their own national identity, which was brutally shattered in 1948, has inspired Jordan to ways and means of promoting the constructive expression of a Palestinian identity without destroying the basic unity which binds the East and West Banks together. It is sometimes overlooked that almost every family on the west Bank of Jordan has sons, daughters, mothers and in-laws on the East side of the Kingdom and vice versa.

The Israeli occupation of the West Bank has resulted in one of the most massive and shattering family separations that history has known. The temporary visits to the next of kin on the occupied West Bank to which the Israeli Foreign Minister gave a distorted meaning, merely serves to highlight the magnitude of this human tragedy.

Inspired by the imperative need to preserve the basic unity of our country without forfeiting the regional identities of the two components of the Kingdom, Jordan has put forward a plan for the creation of a federal state — The United Arab Kingdom.

The United Arab Kingdom would comprise two autonomous regions : The Jordanian and Palestinian. The Palestinian region within the federation would be open as a homeland for every Palestinian wherever he may be. He would then be a citizen as of right and not on sufferance. It is an ingathering

of the Palestinian People after their inhuman diaspora. It would be open to unity for any Palestinian territory - choosing to do so. Its capital would naturally be the Arab Jerusalem.

The plan would not only ensure the ingathering of the Palestinians to a territory which is theirs, but would also maintain the essential link of this Palestinian identity with the rest of the Arab world of which the Palestinians are an integral part through its association with the Eastern part of the kingdom.

I would like to stress that the plan would only become feasible and capable of implementation after the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab lands. What stands in its way? it is the problem of Israel.

A NEW WORLD IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. President :

Israel has more than once achieved its military objectives in its conflicts with the Arabs. But not once has it succeeded in achieving the fruits of its successes or peace. All wars and struggles the world has known, no matter how intense or brutal end in peace. The war which Zionism has waged and continues to wage against the Arab nation is an exception, the reason is what I have called the Israeli problem.

Let it free itself of the militaristic obsession, let it free itself of Zionist euphoria and genuinely reach for peace.

Already there are internal rumblings that will grow louder in the coming years, if only given the proper and just chance. Among those rumblings are these :

The presently out - spoken realization among Israelis that an injustice had been done to Palestinians.

Strikes and demonstrations against racial discrimination.

The steady increase in emigration of skilled Western Israelis back to Western countries ...

The restlessness of the second class status of Eastern-born Jews compared to the European - born Israelis.

The growing fear that, with no new crisis western dollars will no longer flow in such a steady stream.

These and other signs of inner discontent are troubling the Israeli leadership. But they are giving encouragement to the rest of the world, or at least part of it, **that a new world can emerge in the Middle East.**

In the struggle to reach such a new world in the Middle East, Jordan intends to play no small or insignificant role. It has set its course for a vigorous march to a happy and prosperous future. With wise and courageous leadership, the goodwill of her people, and the support of her friends everywhere. Jordan intends to contribute its share to the future of this world.

Thank you

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